

[P.V]

● 115

INFORMANTS

Below are the names and approximate ages of contributing informants and the tribes about which they gave data. The initials are those under which they appear in the text. Asterisks denote major informants. Interpreters, none of whom were important as personalities, are listed separately. About eleven individuals who will remain unnamed were tried and rejected as informants.

Yokuts: Lake Tribes

- *** J.A. Josie Alonso, 65, Chumt, Wowol, Tachi, Telamni, and Mutumutu
- ** M.O. Mollie Garcia, 80, Tachi and Telamni

Yokuts: Southern Valley

- ** M.A. Martha Alto, 70, Paleuyami and Yaudanchi
- * F.M. Frank Manuel, 65, Bankalachi
- * B.J.A. Big Jim Alto, 70, Yauelamni and Hometwali
- D.F. Dick Francisco, 80, Koycti

Yokuts: Central Foothills

- *** M.L. Mollie Lawrence, 70, Wukchumni and Gavia (blind)
- ** S.O. Sam Garfield, 65, Wukchumni and Yaudanchi
- ** W.F. Mary Pohot, 55, Wukchumni
- ** J.F. Joe Pohot, 60, Wukchumni and Patwisha
- * J.B. Jim Britches, 70, Wukchumni
- * E.O. Katie Garcia, 30, Wukchumni (and a star interpreter)
- L. Lottie, 60, Wukchumni
- M.S. Mary Sawihat, 100, Yaudanchi
- J.W. Jim Wilson, 70, Yaudanchi
- T.W. Tillie Wilson, 70, Telamni
- A.M. Annie Marlo, 60, Chukaimina
- * F.M. Pete Marlo, 60, Chukaimina
- Mo. Mollie, 60, Chukaimina
- ** F.D.W. Pony Dick Matun, 70, Choinimani, Gashowu, and Entimibich

Yokuts: Northern Foothills

- * E.M. Ellen Murphy, 70, Kechayi and Gashowu
- * B.W. Bill Wilson, 90, Dumna
- * C.D. Chicago Dick, 70, Chukchansi
- * M.W. Nancy Wyatt, 50, Chukchansi
- * M.W. Mike Wyatt, 55, Chukchansi
- * J.R. Jack Roan, 80, Chukchansi and Southern Miwok
- * F.R. Polly Roan, 50, Chukchansi
- M.N. Matilda Neal, 70, Chukchansi

Transitional Yokuts-Western Mono

- *** S.O. Sam Osborn, 65, Michahai and Waksachi (blind)
- ** B.O. Bob Osborn, 75, Waksachi
- D. Dinky, 55, Michahai and Waksachi

Western Mono

- *** M.J. 'Merican Joe, 80, Wobomuch
- ** Jn.W. Jane Waley, 65, Wobomuch
- * Jo.W. Joe Waley, 75, Wobomuch
- * S.D. George Dick, 40, Wobomuch and Entimibich (and a star interpreter)
- B.S. Basket Susie, 60, Wobomuch
- D.S. Dead Susie, 75, Wobomuch and Entimibich
- M. Martha, 60, Wobomuch

Interpreters

M.L., E.O., S.O., G.D., Lillian and Marian Wyatt (Chukchansi), and Martha Waley (Wobomuch)

[P. 7b]

INTERTRIBAL RELATIONS

101 The tribes living in the swampy territory
184 around the Tulare Lake were the nucleus of a
Yokuts culture which differed in many respects
from that of the foothill and hill people. The
divergence was not merely that due to a funda-
mentally different ecological background; it
was manifest also in their dichotomous social
organization and ceremonial practices. The
lake tribes' cultural link was with the Yokuts
of Kings River and northward, and with the
Wowol to the south rather than toward the east-
ward hills.

115 The localities and intertribal relations
of the lake tribes are presented by Kroeber,²³
and to his information we have little to add.
Our Tachi informant (M.G.), long away from
childhood scenes, was unable to formulate pre-
cise information on her native village region.
The need for two interpreters to translate her
conversation (Tachi to Wukchumni, Wukchumni to
English) did not add clarity. The Chunut in-
formant (J.A.) excellent in other respects, was
unclear on local topography, whereas her
knowledge of names and locations of distant
tribes was remarkably accurate. The informa-
tion obtained from these two women has been
added to that of Kroeber and mapped in Local
Map A (map 2).

578 According to M.G. there was no intercamp
609 or intervillage quarrelling among the Tachi. But
bitter feeling, resulting in occasional fights,
existed between the Tachi and the valley tribes
living north of Kings River, known collectively
to the Tachi as Hoshima (ho šima, 'northerners').
The Nutunutu, as the nearest of these, were
specific enemies of the Tachi. If these people
attempted to come into Tachi territory for
seeds or game, the Tachi "met them halfway and
made them go back." The Chunut did not fight
the Hoshima, M.G. said (but see Chunut in-
formant's account, p. 9).

439 The Tachi were on friendly terms with all
436 the groups bordering on the lake, but particu-
larly with the Wowol who came as far north as
the Wolasi in their balsas to trade. They tied
the balsas to tules and slept on them at night.
The Wowol wanted a grass-seed food and traded
shell money in return. The Wowol acquired the
shells from the To kya (Salinan), who lived at
Cu'lama,²⁴ near the ocean, and far west and

²³Handbook, 474-486.

²⁴A Salinan site on Cholame Creek, an upper tributary
of the Salinas River.

[P. 7c]

439 south of the mountains (the Coast Range). The
Tokya ate the fish from the shells and traded
436 these to their inland neighbors. Usually the
buyer made them up into money: this was what
the Wowol did. The Tachi went to Wolasi
villages to trade with the Wowol, but no
farther south, as Yi'nel was the most southern
Tachi village. The Tachi, Wolasi, and Chunut
traded seed foods in exchange.

439 The Telamni came out to the Wolasi to
visit but not to trade (sic). They, the
574 Wechihit, Wolasi, and Chunut came to Tachi
mourning ceremonies at Telwe'y:t. The Gawia
did not ever visit so far west.

361 The large Tachi village called Telwe'y:t
115 was on the edge of the lake south of the
present town of Lemoore. An important chief
there was Luču'šī. The informant M.G. was born
there; after her marriage she moved "a little
east up the river [Kings?] to a village called
Gaiwo'šyu. The barren area west of Tulare Lake
which extended as far as the Coast Range and
was roamed over by Tachi was called Utju'i.
(Kroeber places a village, Udjiu, in this area.)
There was a pond near Loston Hills.

578 The Chunut informant, J.A., gives a differ-
ent picture of Tachi relations, but her less
361 intimate view of the situation makes it seem
unreliable. She states that the Tachi, Wowol,
and Chunut fought frequently, with the Tachi
and Nutunutu as allies against the combined
Chunut and Wowol. Telwe'y:t, a Tachi village,
was at Summit Lake. At Woko'n were a series of
camps among which the Tachi moved, especially
when one camp had been visited by death. J.A.
named Hono'tan (to stop suddenly) and Či'yī
(bones) as two important Nutunutu villages,
both near Kingston. Čiyī is undoubtedly
Kroeber's Chiau. A chief there was Oli'k's,
nicknamed Nai'nai'č'is (Squint-eye) because
he was cross-eyed. The Nutunutu was a very
large tribe, J.A. said.

101 The Chunut on Tulare Lake had Tachi and
131 Nutunutu neighbors toward the north. Their
land extended eastward almost to the present
site of Tulare (city), east of which dwelt the
Wolasi. The main Chunut rancheria, which J.A.
pronounces pi'sras, a pronunciation I believe
is a corruption of "Pierce's Ranch," was near
Farmersville, which she claimed was Chunut
territory (čunu'tači pa'an). Near Tulare (city)
101 was a bottomless pond called mīk'e'y:t; things
484 which fell in were never recovered. The Chunut
131 frequently walked over to the ocean across the
mountains to the west, provided relations were

[P. 396] Chunut

757 plasterings of his own blood, nettle down, and
mashed jimsonweed. They made him drink a brew
276 of the plant which "made him crazy for about
752 two weeks and then he died." He became swollen
and the wounds refused to heal.

An old Humtinin man (a southerner), Sololo,
took jimsonweed to cure a large bump on the
back of his head. He was thought to have ob-
served all the tabus carefully (meat avoidance,
principally), but he died soon after.

752 For fractures the skin was scarified all
around the injury and a poultice of cooked,
276 mashed jimsonweed leaves was tied all around it
to make the bone mend. Motsa had his right
clavicle broken in falling from a wagon. A
large poultice was applied all over his shoul-
der, and he was cured.

276 For frightening ghosts, jimsonweed was
used in the valley as it was in the foothills,
789 i.e., boiled in the house of the dead person.

About two months ago (December, 1928)
W.At.'s boy's ghost came in J.A.'s house during
the night. He opened and closed both the back
door and the front. She could hear him walking
about softly in the kitchen. She called to him,
asked him what he wanted, said she would help
him if he wanted her to, but he did not answer.
The next day a woman told her to cook some jim-
sonweed in the house to drive away the ghost.
But J.A. had been eating meat and handling
greasy things, so she did not want to touch any
jimsonweed.

Chunut Ceremonies

796 An informant (J.At.) of Wechihit blood re-
called a Wechihit (?) doctor, Toi'č:k, who
786 handled snakes. She saw him perform the Rattle-
snake Ritual at Kingston where "a little tribe,
825 not the Nutunutu, lived."⁹⁹

Toi'č:k got two or three snakes which he
kept in a big bottleneck basket (osa). They
were starved for six days. Then he put the
snakes out on the ground. He stepped on them
and picked them up and put them around his neck
"to show that he was not afraid of them"; but
he did not let them bite him. Everybody
watched him; he was not paid [sic]. There were
singers there, too. There was some purpose in
this to keep people from being bitten by rattle-
snakes, as it was always done in the spring.

Toi'č:k could "make any snake bite any
person if he wanted," but he was not "mean" and
never did this. The snake ritual was called
le 'alawa, the handling, dai was or tatla was.

796 The Bear Dance was made by the people of
[164] the foothills and roblar, but not by the lake
tribes. It was also denied to the Wechihit by
J.At., and was attributed to the Wukchumni by

• [115] ⁹⁹The informant, who was very dull, could not recall
the name of the tribe. She may have had the Nutsami in
mind. Several points in her account seem garbled or dubious.

[P. 48] Koyeti

KOYETI

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The following fragmentary notes were obtained from Dick Francisco (Yao'wi). At the time of my visit some personal difficulties of D.F.'s made him refuse to use any interpreter but his daughter, who proved hopelessly inadequate for her task.

D.F. was born at a rancharia on Deer Creek; his father and mother were both Koyeti -- "everybody who lived there was." They moved to Fort Tejon when he was very young; then after the first Ghost Dance they moved up to Tule [the older reservation where Porterville is now]. They were at Tejon during a big earthquake [1872]. While they lived at Tule there was a great flood which caused people to run to the hills.

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The Koyeti and Bankalachi were close and friendly neighbors.

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The houses on Deer Creek were mostly made of the large grass (?) rather than of tules.

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D.F. does not remember the name of his Koyeti village, or of any chief.¹¹⁷ He thinks there was "just one captain." But a powerful doctor, Maiye'mai (Manuel) was a well-known Koyeti. His power may have been from Eagle; he was "a good doctor and never killed anyone." He once cured Luisa Francisco, who was suffering from severe pains in her head. When he came to the house, he saw a "devil" (h:twai''iya: malevolent ghost, "devil") standing by the door "and he knew that was what scared her." To effect the cure he did not cut, but fanned her with an eagle feather and "puffed." However, Maiyemai cured other types of sickness by cutting and sucking.

¹¹⁷Another informant, B.J.A., from Fort Tejon claims that Dick Francisco was a winston there.

[P. 50d] Tubatulabal NS22

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Frank Manuel was born at Soto'tlo, a large village of about twenty families, on Deer Creek where both Bankalachi and Pitanisha (Tubatulabal) lived. His maternal grandfather, Čoxo'no, was a Pitanisha chief there. There were two other chiefs whose names F.M. does not re-

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[172]

¹²⁸See Voegelin, Tubatulabal Ethnography, 19.

¹²⁹Stone pipes occur in archaeological remains from the southern valley but were not used within the memory of informants; they may also have come by trade from the Chumash (see Kroeber, Handbook, 564).

¹³⁰Gayton, Estudillo, 83.

[P. 133 a] Wukchumni
Chukaimina

177 over toward Nevada every year to get the songs
668 and dances which a man named Mo'man (Moman ?)
796 was making there. He (Moman) was painted red." In turn, several Entimbich and Wobonuch singers would go north to learn the new songs from Joijoi. They went up there before Joijoi came south, which he did once or twice later on. The group of singers came back and held the first dance at Eshom Valley, then at Dunlap, then in Choinimni territory on Mill Creek, then went "to near Lemoore" (Pierce's Ranch ?), to the old Tule River Reservation, and to Fort Tejon. They held no dances on the return trip. In several subsequent years they retraveled this route as far as Tule River but omitted Lemoore: "singers from there came to dances in the foothills." J.B. was uncertain who composed this group, remembering only Samson Dick, Lewu Cui, and Little George Dick (all Entimbich), and A'pawč, Koiye wa, and "Tonočim" (nickname) (all Wobonuch). An Entimbich named Mo'su did the exhortative preaching. As "all the songs were in Mono," J.B. could not understand them (then).

668 The Ghost Dances ceased a long time ago:
796 J.B. did not know why. There was never any revival. He had never heard of Wovoka. He did not believe the dance was a preventative of sickness or death.

When the first dance was held in the southern end of Eshom Valley, J.B. was living at Diapnuša (Lemon Cove). He was "just a little fellow and went with his father and mother and boy cousin." He had three older brothers who remained at home. J.B. said that by no means did everyone go to the dance "though most did because they were afraid not to" (but of what he did not know).

[Text Continued on Top of P. 133b,
--- Analyst]

CHUKAIMINA

115 The following information is regrettably brief and not always clear. The available informants at Squaw Valley were inadequately equipped in personality and language to discuss or reconstruct Chukaimina culture from memory. They were not able to distinguish clearly between events at Maštinai and those occurring at neighboring Entimbich and Choinimni villages. Neither could they get down to cases. For example, while Mo. knew her own and her mother's totem animals, she "wasn't sure" about her husband's, and so on. What was got from P.M., A.M. (a Wukchumni by birth), and Mo. is given for the sake of complete record: only the moiety data can be used safely as it was rechecked several times for mutual agreement.

LOCALITIES

131 P.M. could not define Chukaimina territory
[Text Continued in middle of P. 133b,
--- Analyst]

[P. 142d]

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INFORMANTS

Below are the names and approximate ages of contributing informants and the tribes about which they gave data. The initials are those under which they appear in the text. Asterisks denote major informants. Interpreters, none of whom were important as personalities, are listed separately. About eleven individuals who will remain unnamed were tried and rejected as informants.

Yokuts: Lake Tribes

- *** J.A. Josie Alonso, 65, Chunut, Wowol, Tachi, Telamni, and Mutunutu
- ** M.G. Mollie Garcia, 80, Tachi and Telamni

Yokuts: Southern Valley

- ** M.A. Martha Alto, 70, Paleuyami and Yaudanchi
- * F.M. Frank Manuel, 65, Bankalachi
- B.J.A. Big Jim Alto, 70, Yauelamni and Hometwali
- D.F. Dick Francisco, 80, Koyeti

Yokuts: Central Foothills

- *** M.L. Mollie Lawrence, 70, Wukchumni and Gawi (blind)
- ** S.G. Sam Garfield, 65, Wukchumni and Yaudanchi
- ** M.G. Mary Pohot, 55, Wukchumni
- ** J.F. Joe Pohot, 60, Wukchumni and Patwisha
- * J.B. Jim Britches, 70, Wukchumni
- K.G. Katie Garcia, 30, Wukchumni (and a star interpreter)
- L. Lottie, 60, Wukchumni
- M.S. Mary Saminat, 100, Yaudanchi
- J.W. Jim Wilcox, 70, Yaudanchi
- T.W. Tillie Wilcox, 70, Telamni
- A.M. Annie Marlo, 60, Chukaimina
- F.M. Pete Marlo, 60, Chukaimina
- Mo. Mollie, 60, Chukaimina
- ** P.D.W. Pony Dick Watun, 70, Choinimni, Gashowu, and Entimbich

Yokuts: Northern Foothills

- * E.M. Ellen Murphy, 70, Kechayi and Gashowu
- * B.W. Bill Wilson, 90, Dama
- C.D. Chicago Dick, 70, Chukchansi
- * M.W. Nancy Wyatt, 50, Chukchansi
- * M.W. Mike Wyatt, 55?, Chukchansi
- * J.R. Jack Roan, 80, Chukchansi and Southern Miwok
- * P.R. Polly Roan, 50, Chukchansi
- M.M. Matilda Neal, 70?, Chukchansi

Transitional Yokuts-Western Mono

- *** S.O. Sam Osborn, 65, Michahai and Waksachi (blind)
- ** B.O. Bob Osborn, 75, Waksachi
- D. Dinky, 55, Michahai and Waksachi

Western Mono

- *** M.J. 'Merican Joe, 80, Wobonuch
- ** Jn.W. Jane Waley, 65, Wobonuch
- * Jo.W. Joe Waley, 75, Wobonuch
- * G.D. George Dick, 40, Wobonuch and Entimbich (and a star interpreter)
- B.B. Basket Susie, 60, Wobonuch
- D.B. Dead Susie, 75, Wobonuch and Entimbich
- M. Martha, 60, Wobonuch

Interpreters

M.L., K.G., S.G., G.D., Lillian and Marian Wyatt (Chukchansi), and Martha Waley (Wobonuch)

1: Cayton

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(1925-1930) 1948

NS29 Yokuts NS29

[P. 199a]

Chukchausi

616 Informant

N.W.

Eutamias
 coyote, "because he lives
 up in the mountains"
 eagle
 bear

Taxilewis
 bluejay, "he lives
 down in the valley"

S.B.

eagle
 coyote

bluejay
 bear

J.R.

coyote
 deer

eagle
 bear
 bluejay

There was disagreement about personal affiliations with the moieties, too. In all information on this subject Miss Thrall felt that S.B.'s knowledge was more reliable than N.W.'s. The informants assigned people to moieties thus:

Informant

Eutamias

Taxilewis

N.W.

Nancy Wyatt
 Mike Wyatt
 Nancy's father

Nancy Wyatt
 Susie Brown
 Chicago Dick

S.B.

Mike Wyatt

J.R.

Jank Roan

101 The northern group of tribes in the foothill division are those living on the
197 San Joaquin where this stream still pursues a southwesterly course before turning into the main line of the valley. Their dialects are very similar to those of the adjacent northern valley tribes; so much so that they could almost be reckoned as of one group with them were it not that the more and more insistent divergence of all subsequent foothill dialects draws these northernmost idioms into the distinctive hill class. This comparative indeterminateness between the speech of the northern hills and plains is paralleled in the topography. Along the San Joaquin and to the north, the perfectly flat valley slides imperceptibly into the gentlest undulations, which swell and magnify into long low hillocks, until the foothills proper are gradually reached.

From Kings River south the transition from plain to foothills is abrupt, a single step often being literally sufficient to carry one from one area into the other. This means that the physiography is sharply distinct, and that the native modes of life, with their direct adaptation to the soil, can not be identical. It is therefore not surprising that the Kings River group of foothill dialects is well marked off from the adjacent southern valley group.

The Tule-Kaweah group comprises the idioms on these two streams, with which the foothill portion of Deer Creek must be included.

The Poso Creek group of dialects covers not only this stream but White River to the north and a section of Kern River to the south.

With the Buena Vista group, finally, the greatest departure from average Yokuts speech is attained, but, as already mentioned, the foothill habitat of the remainder of the division was abandoned, at least in historic times.

Here follow the names of the Yokuts tribes, their habitats, and their principal known villages. The sequence is from foothills to valley and from south to north, the reverse of that just pursued, in order to allow of procedure from the better to the less known.

TRIBES OF THE BUENA VISTA GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

101 The Tulamni (plural Tulalmina) were the tribe in possession of Buena Vista
197 Lake, at some point on whose western or northwestern shore where the hills come close to the water was their main settlement Tulamni, "Tulamni-place." From there they ranged westward to Wogitlu in the vicinity of McKittrick. (Pl. 47.)

[103] On Kern Lake were the Hometwoli or Humetwadi. This name means "southerners" and is a variant of the common term Homtinin applied by any Yokuts to those of their neighbors who live to the south. The true tribal designation of the Hometwoli has been forgotten. They inhabited at least three principal sites: Halau near the entrance of Kern River into the channel connecting Kern and Buena Vista Lakes; Loasau, somewhere on the north side of Kern Lake; and Pohalin Tinihu (meaning "ground squirrels' hole") in Yauelmani, or Sibetal Daal in the Hometwoli dialect itself, on the south shore.

[194] The Tuhohi, Tobohai, or Tuhohayi (the *t* is almost like English *tr*) are extinct. They are said to have spoken a dialect similar to Tulamni and Hometwoli, and to have lived among the channels and tule-lined sloughs of lower Kern River where these became lost in Tulare Lake. They may have ranged as far as Goose Lake. Their principal habitation is spoken of as Tahayu, "Tuhohi-place."

114 A little mystery may be dispelled here. Stephen Powers found among the
115 Yauelmani one old man, the survivor of a tribe that had once lived on Kern

Lake, and whose numerals, and therefore speech, he recognized as distinctively non-Yokuts. Inquiry proves that the survivor had been at one of the missions, had there learned more or less Salinan, and that some of its vocables suggested to him Yokuts words of entirely different meaning. He used to regale his friends with accounts of his travels; and his rattling off the Salinan count as a meaningless string of Yokuts words became a well-known entertainment; much as we might amuse a child with a tale of a strange people called the Spanish who counted "You-know, toes, tray, quarrel." Here are the Salinan originals and his puns:

kitol, kishile	kile.
kakichu	choyochi.
lapal	uyatsi.
kicha	chulchau (a place name).
olchat, ulchan	lopchin-tinliu (at the fish hole).
painel, payat	pokoichin-tinliu.
ta, topa	tuhtu.
sanel	pusin-tinliu (at the dog's hole).
tatatol	hosche.
tsae	chiwa.

TRIBES OF THE POSEO CREEK GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Paleuyami, Padeuyami, Peleuyi, or, as they were called by their Shoshonean neighbors, Paluyam, had their headquarters in the hills beside Poseo Creek, especially at Altai ("salt-grass place"), which lay just south of this stream about as far up in the hills as Kono-likin or Kern Falls, to which place, and adjacent sites on Kern River, they, as well as the Yauelmani of the valley, appear to have come. They had also Bekiu and Shikidapan (*shikid*, "arrow") in Poseo Flat, and Holmiu in Linn's Valley. 101
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The Kumachisi, Komechisi, Kometsiosi, or Kumachesi (plural Kumachwadi) centered about Hoschiu on White River. They were sometimes known as the Small Paleuyami, the Altinin of Altai being the Great Paleuyami. Some informants identify them with the obscure Shoshonean tribe called the Giamina, whose habitat is said to have been in or near the Paleuyami territory. The majority of the Kumachisi probably knew more than one language; as to whether their native dialect was of the Paleuyami type, or of the valley division, or indeed not Yokuts at all but Shoshonean, there is no certain evidence. [103]
[K1
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TRIBES OF THE TULE-KAWEAH GROUP OF THE FOOTHILL DIVISION.

The Yaudanchi or Yaulanchi (plural Yaudchani or Yawilchini), also called Nutaa (plural Nuchawayi), "easterners, uplanders"—whence Garcés's generic designation of the Yokuts as Noche—held Tule River in the foothills, especially the North and Middle Forks. One of their principal winter quarters was Shawahtau, above Springville. Near by was Ukunul ("drink"); and house pits at Uchiyingetau ("markings") at the painted rocks, and at Tungoshud ("gate") near the agency, on Tule River Reservation, hark back to either Yaudanchi or Bokninuwad occupancy. In spring and early summer they gathered seeds in the vicinity of Lindsay; in late summer or fall they met with other tribes in Koyeti territory about Porterville for fishing and elk hunting. In dry and hungry seasons the southern end of Tulare Lake would be frequented in search of tule roots. All the Yokuts tribes from the Kaweah River [103]
[2a]

PREFACE

In introducing this *Handbook of Yokuts Indians* it is probably necessary to state that I was born on the Orestimba Creek in western Stanislaus County and lived the early portion of my life in several localities on the "West Side" of the San Joaquin Valley. 114

There had been no Indians on the West Side since about 1806. They had been stripped from that entire territory from Martinez on the north, to Paleta on the south, and taken to the Spanish Missions on the coast. However, all along the eastern edge of the Coast Range foothills, along the San Joaquin River and along the lakes and sloughs from that river southeast to a point south of Bakersfield, there were many evidences of Indian occupation. 101 131 797

Those evidences were in the nature of abandoned village sites: depressions where structures had stood; cemeteries; flat, earthbound rocks, honeycombed with mortars; occasional portable mortars, pestles, metates and manos, beads, arrow and spear points, and heat-shattered cooking rocks. 172

On the Orestimba, Romero, Garzas and Los Baños Creeks, and along the near-by San Joaquin River were many immense, saucer shaped depressions over which had stood structures of some kind. One of these on Los Baños Creek is more than sixty-five feet across. In the center of these depressions are fire pits, still containing charcoal and heat-shattered rocks.

For those of us who lived on the West Side, these evidences of departed Indians held a great fascination. I can still remember how in 1909 I was thrilled to see my first live Indians. They were camped by the road in the mountains near Strawberry, east of Oakdale. 114

In 1923, when I first went to Tulare County to live, I was again thrilled to find several Indian families living in primitive manner along the banks of the Kaweah River east of Visalia. In October of that year I interviewed my first aged Yokuts, blind Mollie Lawrence. She was a full-blooded Wukchumne and was then about ninety-five years of age. I continued to interview Mollie until 1928, when she died. In the 114 101 131 114 124

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● 115
124 past twenty-five years more than two hundred Indians have been interviewed. A number of these Indians had seen the first white settlers come to the eastern San Joaquin Valley.

In 1928 I found living on White River an aged white man who had been raised by the Choinimne Yokuts on Kings River. His mother had died in 1850 when he was about six years of age and he had been taken by the women to a nearby Indian village. This man's name was Thomas Jefferson Mayfield. From him I learned many things about primitive Indian life difficult to learn from Indians themselves.

From several hundred aged white pioneers were obtained statements relating to the Yokuts Indians. Many of these pioneers were the first white people to settle among those Indians.

128 It is from these data, gathered first-hand from both aged Indians and pioneer whites, that the material for this *Handbook of Yokuts Indians* has been compiled. Little has been taken from published works. In some instances material in this work differs from that already published. I can only state that I have presented it as I obtained it from the Indians themselves and suggest that, after all, the Indian is probably the final authority.

As a first-hand contact with the Yokuts and to show the type of statements from which the *Handbook* has been compiled, Chapter XIII presents verbatim statements obtained from Pahmit, a Dumna, and from Yoimut, who was the last full-blood survivor of the Chunut Yokuts tribe.

F. F. LATTA
Bakersfield, California
January 18, 1949

YOKUTS HOUSEKEEPING

115
353 Regarding the interior arrangement of Indian houses, we are indebted principally to T. J. Mayfield, a San Joaquin valley pioneer who, from the time he was six years of age until he was about sixteen, between 1850 and 1862, was kept by members of the *Choinimac* tribe of Yokuts on upper Kings River. It is from his statements that the following has been taken:

354 "In the center of the single room, directly under the small circular opening at the top of the room, was a fire pit approximately two feet in diameter and excavated to a depth of from ten to twelve inches below the floor of the house. It was about half filled with rocks used in cooking. In bad weather a fire was kept in this house day and night and during that time the family cooking was done over it. At other times all food was prepared in an outside firepit and eaten outside. In fact, the house was used only for storage purposes; except during the rainy, or cold season.

352 "The floor next to the walls of Indian houses was sometimes covered to a depth of several inches by tule mats. These mats were formed by lashing a layer of tules together at intervals of twelve or fourteen inches. These mats could be rolled up like the grass matting so commonly used in pioneer white homes.

"The beds of the inmates were arranged around the fire pit, the heads being toward the wall with the feet toward the fire. In a large house this left a circular aisle several feet in width between the fire pit and the feet of the sleepers.

352
513 "In making a bed, a hole was excavated several inches into the floor of the house. This hole was filled with loose tules, the tules being covered by several thicknesses of tule mats. On top of this crude inner-spring mattress was thrown, if obtainable, the skin of a grizzly bear, the hair being upward. The sleeper lay on one-half of the bear skin and pulled the other half over him. In case of severely cold weather a rabbit skin blanket might be used next to the sleeper, the whole making probably as comfortable a bed as one could wish.

251
353 "With the possible exception of acorns stored in an outside granary, the food supply for the entire family group was stored inside the house. Baskets and bags full of all sorts of seeds and dried fruits, tule roots, grass nuts, prepared acorns and other food stuffs too numerous to mention, filled the space next to the wall between the heads of the sleepers. Dried acorns

Earlier in this account attention was called to the great numbers of large spear points found on the beds of Summit, Tulare, Goose, Buena Vista and Kern Lakes when those bodies of water first ceased to exist. From statements made by old lake Indians we know that many of these points were lost from Yokuts spears when those people were hunting raccoon, mink, otter and beaver around the old lake shores. But that is not the whole story. Some of the points were eight inches in length and thousands were more than six inches long, all too large to be used on a spear. 226

Actually, tens of thousands of beautiful spear points were found where the deepest waters had been, ten and more miles from some of the old shore lines. Although most white pioneers classified these old points as fish spears, we know that the Indians *did not* spear fish with such points. Said Tawp'-naw, an aged *Wukchumne* Yokuts, "Mr. Latta, I betcha you spear five hundred fish with one them *kots* [stone] spears, you don't catch *one*, I betcha." And Tawp'-naw was undoubtedly correct. There had to be some other answer.

It was many years before I found an Indian who could speak from actual experience of the whole lake culture, and who could describe accurately and in detail the practice of taking fish from tule rafts on the San Joaquin Valley lakes. This aged Yokuts was Josie Alonzo, or *Yoi'-mut*, last survivor of the *Chunut* (Choo'-noot) tribe, which once in great numbers occupied the northeast shore of Tulare Lake. 226 115 ●

After Yoimut had answered a thousand questions and I was amazed at the wealth of information she had and the accurate way in which it checked with data gathered from other aged Yokuts, I showed her several dozen large spear points, asked her the use to which they had been put by the Chunut. This was her answer: "They use 'em to catch fish."

That was the only one of all answers given me by Yoimut that I would have questioned for a second. I didn't know what to say.

Yoimut quickly saw that I didn't know how the spear points were used and that I didn't believe her. So she described to me the following practice, something I might have deduced, but which would not have been known as a fact without her statement:

"Sometimes when them Chunut went fishin' on them tule rafts out on Tulare Lake, they didn't catch any fish. Maybe 226

796 Canyon. The last known of these was held on the south Fork of Tule River in the spring of 1890.

796 To understand something of what was in the Yokuts mind
825 when the Rattlesnake Dance was performed, it is necessary to know the position occupied by the rattlesnake in Yokuts mythology. No full-blood Yokuts I have ever known would kill a rattlesnake. Several pioneer white settlers have told me that when poisoning squirrels, Yokuts workers had refused to kill rattlesnakes, which was considered a part of that work. *Tawp-naw*, an aged Wukchumne, once told me that if a rattlesnake entered a Yokuts house the owner would vacate and turn the house over to the snake.

I believe that most of us would act like the Yokuts, at least until we could find a club and kill the snake. But, I was assured by *Tawp-naw*, no Yokuts would dare to kill a rattlesnake, because the rattlesnake could make him die, even without biting him.

• [115] From *Tawp-naw*, *Yoimut* (a *Chunut*), *Wahumchah* (a *Yowlumne*), *Pahmit* (a *Dumna*), *Ichow* and *Pohyt* (*Wukchumne*), *Dr. Bob* (a *Chukaimina*) and perhaps a dozen other aged Yokuts were learned the facts concerning Yokuts beliefs about rattlesnakes.

796 In Yokuts religion the rattlesnake is the private secretary
796 of *Tihpiknits*, keeper of the Yokuts hereafter. He is more
796 than that. He is a combination of Saint Peter and an F. B. I.
825 operative. It is his business to crawl about and spy on the Yokuts. When he finds a bad Yokuts he sends his name in to *Tihpiknits*, who immediately calls him in.

The above is illustrated in the Yokuts story of the visit to *Tihpiknits Pahn* (Land). When the husband of the dead wife returns to this world he violates *Tihpiknits'* orders to keep secret what he has seen. As soon as he disobeys orders he is stricken dead by a rattlesnake.

A folklore story concerning the designs on the typical Yokuts bottlenecked baskets, used by medicine men to nest rattlesnakes, relates to the fatal power of the rattlesnake. On [285] some of these baskets appear the pattern of the diamond back
[53] rattlesnake, as well as designs, representing ants and water
[237] skaters. Around the edge of the basket are the top-knot feathers from the heads of quail.

In Yokuts mythology the quail is the champion of fair play. The ant, for its size, is noted for dealing out the most punish-

CHAPTER XIII

INDIAN STATEMENTS

PAHMIT'S STORY

Almost all of the material in the preceding sketches concerning San Joaquin Valley Indians has been taken from statements made by aged Yokuts Indians, or by aged white pioneers who settled among the Yokuts before they were disturbed by white people. To present an intimate picture of the Yokuts it is best to include a few stories just as they were related to me by aged Indians. 115 ●

The following self-explanatory statement was taken from Pahmit in 1928: 159

I born *Kuyu* (Koo'-you) *Illik*, long time 'go. *Kuyu Illik* [Sulphur Water] Indian village bank river white man call San Joaquin. Village at place white man call Fort Miller where soldiers march. [103]

My people belong *Dumna* (Doom'-nah) tribe Indian. I don't know how much old me. White man say I more than hundred. I know when soldiers, Major Savage come *Kuyu Illik* make Indian sign paper, [1851], I young man 'bout twenty-one, twenty-two years old. [101]

My people live happy 'till soldiers come. We have plenty eat. We have nice dry houses live in. We don't fight. Lots our people live along river above *Kuyu Illik*. Lots antelope, lots elk, lots wild horses come river, drink below *Kuyu Illik* where Friant now. [648] [181]

My grandpa, *Tom'-kit*, chief all Indian tribe 'round *Kuyu Illik*. We want meat; he send two, three Indian; good shot with bow, arrow, get it. They hide in rocks by river, wait antelope, elk. Antelope come. They shoot six, eight nice fat ones. They shoot one each house *Kuyu Illik*. They let rest run 'way. We have all meat we want. When white man come, he shoot, shoot, shoot. Kill all antelope. Kill all elk. Then he bring cattle, make Indian buy beef. 159 224 648

When Indian get hungry, he go with gun shoot some quail, maybe cotton tail, maybe dove. White man 'rest him, put in jail. Now my people no keep gun. They no have rifle; they no have shotgun in house. When my people shoot, white man 'rest him.

My people no drink whisky, I think be lots Indian yet. I drink just once. I work for white man. He put me in wagon. He take me home. He tell me, "Pahmit, whisky no good. Whisky kill white man. Whisky kill Indian. You no drink 'em." White man good my friend. I live long time. Pretty soon I go. Then white man no haf pay me seven dollar haf, live one month. 159

YOIMUT'S STORY THE LAST CHUNUT

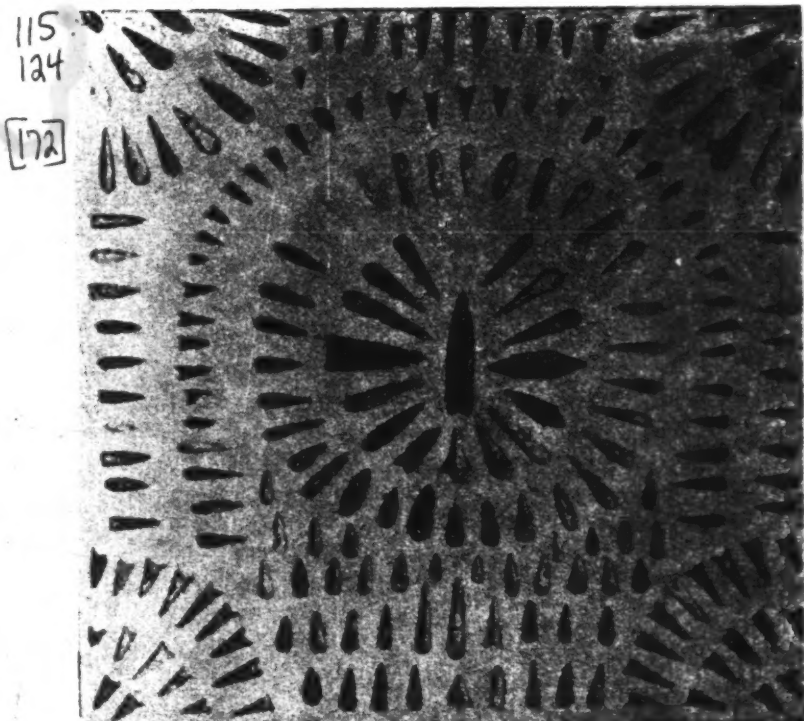
Of the several thousand pioneers I have interviewed, no one was more fascinating than *Yoimut* (Yoi'-mut), last survivor of the *Chunut* Yokuts tribe which once occupied the northeast shore of Tulare Lake. It is of interest to know how I found *Yoimut*. 115 124

One evening I was at the Loy Cutler ranch east of Visalia, talking with Indian Joe Wilcox, making inquiry about the individuals who had been the last survivors of several extinct San Joaquin Valley Indian tribes. Joe had known several last survivors, those from the *Kaweah*, *Yokodo*, *Telumne*, *Pahd-wishi*, *Wowol*, and *Yaudanchi* tribes. I asked him about the *Chunut*. For a moment or two he was at a loss to recollect. Suddenly remembering, he spoke, "There is one *Chunut* left. Her daughter was here last night. She is at the W. H. Wilbur ranch, near Tulare."

It was then 10:30 P.M., December 1, 1930. I immediately drove to the Wilbur ranch. Billy Wilbur had not gone to bed, so he climbed in the car with me and at 11:30 we were in the cotton camp in the Wilbur field. Soon we had awakened everyone at the camp. *Yoimut*'s daughter and son-in-law talked with us in the kitchen. *Yoimut* stood silent in a doorway. I explained who I was and that I wanted *Yoimut* to go with me to our home for a visit, so I could record her story. I expected it to take at least two or three days to persuade her to go.

No one spoke. The daughter looked inquiringly at *Yoimut*. *Yoimut* then addressed me in as good English as I could ask and said, "Yes, we know all about you. Our people tell us all about the questions you ask them. Lots of times I tell them what to tell you. I like to tell my story myself. I will go with you tomorrow."

And so *Yoimut* came. From the first she was as interested and interesting as it is possible for a person to be. She had a



Above are shown typical Yokuts arrow and spear points, chipped from chaledony and obsidian. They are from a burial mound about two miles north of Tupman in the range of the Tehohi Yokuts.

quick, accurate understanding and was able to furnish 3000 words for an English-Chunut dictionary in less time than I had ever collected one before, covering two dialects at the same time, the Chunut of her father and the Wowol of her mother. She could read, write and speak Spanish and English, as well as talk six Yokuts dialects.

Interesting as is Yoimut's story, there is room here for only a portion of it, presented in the following eight sketches, the original language of which has been changed very little:

159 I was born at the old *Telumne* (Tay'-lum-ne) village of
361 *Watot Shuhul* (Wa'-tot Shoo-lool) just northwest of the old

159 I am the last full-blood Chunut left. My children are part
115 Spanish. I am the only one who knows the whole Chunut or
Wowol language. When I am gone no one will have it. I have
to be the last one.

All my life I want back our good old home on Tulare Lake.
But I guess I can never have it. I am a very old Chunut
[eighty-five years] now and I guess I can never see the old
days again.

159 Now my daughter and her Mexican husband work in the
177 cotton fields around Tulare and Waukena. Cotton, cotton,
cotton, that is all that is left. Chunuts cannot live on cotton.
They cannot sing their old songs and tell their old stories
where there is nothing but cotton. My children feel foolish
when I sing my songs. But I sing anyway:

[533] *Toke'-uh lih'-nuh* *Wa'-tin-hin nah yo'*
539 (west side) (show me the straight path)
Hi-yo-um'-ne *a-he* *oo-nook* *mi-uh'-wah*
(my home (this is I) (the charm stone) (over you)
Indian village)

That is all. [Yoimut died in Hanford in 1933.]

THE END OF THE TRAIL

181 In leaving the topic of Yokuts Indians, which has been
presented upon these pages in a rather informal manner, it is
perhaps best that a brief summary be made of Indian character
itself and of some things which vitally concern those Indians
who still survive.

One of the alleged Indian characteristics is that of im-
providence. It is claimed that the Indians generally do not
look to the future and are not able to carry themselves through
from season to season without being in want. How generally
true this may have been in primeval days, I have no way of
knowing. I do know, however, that those Yokuts Indians who
still remained suffered less during the recent depression than
many of their white neighbors. Their services were much in
demand, they worked almost every day, and commanded the
highest wages of all common laborers in their territory. It is
not meant that they had the finest automobile in the locality,
nor that they lived in the finest house, because they certainly
did not. They had no automobile, and they camped under the
trees, using tents and brush shelters, but they were comfortable
and happy and were well supplied with provisions.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929

[P. 239]

NS29 Yokuts NS29

Western Mono NS25

YOKUTS AND WESTERN MONO POTTERY- MAKING

BY

A. H. GAYTON

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FOREWORD

The information on pottery-making contained in this paper was obtained on field trips made for the Department of Anthropology, University of California, during the years 1925-1927.¹

Description of the style of the ware is based upon thirty-four specimens: twelve Yokuts and Western Mono vessels in the Hudson collection, Field Museum of Natural History, of which photographs and dimensions have been kindly supplied by that institution; thirteen Yokuts and Western Mono vessels in the Barrett collection,² Museum of Anthropology, University of California; seven Western Mono vessels in the same museum collected by the writer; and two Western Mono vessels in Sequoia National Park Museum (fig. 2).

Photographs supplementary to the author's have been kindly loaned by Professor T. T. Waterman. These appear in plates 96 and 97.

¹ The dialectic groups, names, and approximate ages, respectively, of contributing informants are:

Yokuts: Bankalachi, Frank Manuel, 65; Choinimai, Pony Dick Watun, 70; Chunut, Josie Alonzo, 65; Dumna, Bill Wilson, 90; Kechavi, Ellen Murphy, 70; Michahai, Dinky, 55; Paleuyami, Martha Alta, 70; Tachi, Mollie Garcia, 80; Wükehumai, Mollie Lawrence, 70; Yandanchi, Mary Sanwaihat, 95.
Western Mono: Patwisha (Balwisha), Mary Pohot, 55; Waksachi, Sam Osborn, 65; Bob Osborn, 75; Wobonuch, Jane Waley, 65.

² For illustrations of six of these specimens see Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, B.A.E. Bull. 78, pl. 51, 1925.

A complete, intensive study of Yokuts culture is no longer possible. 121
 The northern valley dwellers have been extinct for nearly a century.
 A meager remnant of central valley or Tulare lake Yokuts is now
 huddled on a rancharia near Lemoore, Kings county. In this group 115
 but one woman, Josie Alonzo, is capable of giving information on the 121
 customs of her people during the period of her childhood, say 1860-
 1880. Another woman, senile in 1925 and since dead, gave some
 additional, fragmentary, data on the Tachi and Telamni. The south-
 ern valley dwellers are completely unknown to the writer. Of these 121
 people, culturally obliterated many years ago and perhaps entirely 114
 gone today, Kroeber's account is in all probability the most complete
 that we shall ever have.

Mountainward, conditions for field work are better. In the foot-
 hills at least a few representatives of almost every Yokuts tribe from
 Fresno river south to Kern river still dwell at or near their old village
 sites. The bulk of the data on these tribes was obtained from those
 dwelling in the Kings-Kaweah river section. The remaining foothill
 Yokuts data are from the region of Tule river.

The Western Mono are represented here exclusively by the 101
 Wobonuch and Waksachi tribes. According to reliable informants
 the Patwisha (Balwisha) were culturally identical with the Waksachi.
 Mr. E. W. Gifford has kindly given me relevant data from his unpub-
 lished material on the North Fork Mono. The Western Mono, owing
 to their location in the mountains, relatively protected from intensive
 white intrusion, now number more than their less fortunate Yokuts
 neighbors to the west.

The material from the regions investigated can, I think, be taken 121
 as representative for the entire valley between the Fresno and Kern
 rivers. The present writer's field investigations were in the nature
 of an ethnographic survey. In covering so large an area in the greater
 part of which aboriginal culture has entirely disappeared, the most
 fruitful course to pursue seemed that of an extensive, general survey
 rather than an intensive, localized one. Of the tribes dwelling on the
 upper reaches of the San Joaquin, Kings, Kaweah, and Tule rivers,
 and of one tribe in the old Tulare lake area, at least one or more
 natives suitable in age and knowledge to act as informants were found.
 While such informants might not always be able to give detailed
 information their general knowledge was sufficient to give us an
 analyzable account of Yokuts culture. Social life in the San Joaquin
 valley was largely intertribal. Hence an intelligent informant had a

fact his English speech is exceptionally good, and he quite willingly gave the best rendition that he could of a chief's speech at a Ghost Dance ceremony.⁴³

On the whole there seemed to be a distinct reluctance on the part of informants to provide this information. Whether this was due to the feeling that an ordinary person should not repeat a chief's address, or that they actually felt that they could not do justice to the chief's rhetoric it is impossible to tell. Stephen Powers had the good fortune to witness a mourning ceremony among the Chukchansi (Y). In his account of the Yokuts he gives in considerable detail the speeches of the chief and his herald on this occasion.⁴⁴ These are substantially the same as the description given by my informants. The substance of all informants' remarks on this subject was that the chiefs in addressing an assembly would tell the people why they were there, what was going to be done, and end by telling them to have a good time.

In the previous pages we have discussed the various functions of the chief. The chief, however limited in power, had a social prestige resting upon his position as a protégé of and surrogate for Eagle, the mythological creator-chief. He possessed more wealth than the average citizen in spite of the fact that his position incurred more than average expenses. His relations with his subjects had a distinctly patriarchal aspect: he provided food for the poor, settled quarrels, generously paid messengers and ceremonial performers, gave advice on debatable projects, protected public safety by permitting bad shamans and poisoners to be killed, and addressed assemblies in words betokening his desire for the well-being of his people. That this is the generally accepted aspect of the chief appears from the foregoing accounts supplied by a variety of informants. However, a chief who was not a good man at heart, and who had a desire for personal aggrandizement, attained it through illegitimate arrangements with malevolent shamans. This matter will be taken up after the shaman's functions and position in the tribe has been defined.

⁴³ Sam Osborn. Gayton, *op. cit.*

⁴⁴ *Op. cit.*, 386, 387.

relationship with the occult, were too troublesome. Others were afraid of attempting it lest they make a mistake and incur the ill will of the dream creature. Many people, both men and women, acquired a little power, sufficient to keep them from danger on strange trails, to cure simple illnesses of their children or friends, or to have luck in hunting and gambling. Relatively few persons, and these only men, became professional shamans. Probably many persons had sufficient power but did not wish to proclaim it. 756 787

Shaman's power was not of a peculiar sort nor was it inherited. It was merely a greater quantity, an accumulation of dream experiences, say six, to an average person's one or two. The more of such experiences one had the greater his knowledge of the occult would become, and the bond between the individual and the supernatural world increasingly strengthened. In other words, the difference between a shaman's power and that of a non-professional was one of quantity rather than of quality. As one informant expressed it: "A doctor was just a person who had too much power. They got mean, tried to see what they could do just to be doing it, and finally got so they thought they could do anything by means of their power. People would be here yet if the doctors weren't so mean."²¹

The reason some people were unwilling to become professional doctors, that is, cure any individual for the purpose of making money, was because of the danger of being killed if a patient died. The exercise of supernatural power for benevolent or malevolent purposes was believed to rest entirely upon the shaman's choice. Hence a doctor who attempted to cure a patient and failed was open to suspicion: either he had not sufficient power, or he had deliberately bewitched the person and was allowing him to die. Said the same informant: "If a man died his relations thought maybe the doctor didn't really try to cure him. They would get mad and talk about it. They'd say, 'he doesn't know much,' 'he is a bad doctor,' and like that. They'd get madder while they talked and maybe decide to kill that doctor. Some of the dead man's relations would kill the doctor. There was no special man to do this. They didn't always tell the chief." 756 [683]

A doctor who lost several patients but still continued to cure was definitely believed to be malicious. First of all he was causing illness in order to make himself rich through the fees gained in administering to the sick man, and secondly, he was allowing him to die out of sheer malice.

²¹ From Sam Osborn, who himself has considerable power. He has cured immediate relatives and intimate friends but does not profess to be a doctor. [115]

APPENDIX

INFORMANTS AND GENEALOGIES

115 Names and approximate ages of contributing informants, and the tribes on which they gave data are:

Frank Manuel, 65, Bankalachi (WM); Pony Dick Watun, 70, Choinimni, Gashowa, and Entimbich (all Y); Josie Alonzo, 65, Chunut, Wowol, Tachi, Telamni, and Nutunuta (all Y); Bill Wilson, 90, Dumna (Y); Big Jim Alto, 70, Hometwoli (Y); Ellen Murphy, 70, Kechayi and Gashowa (both Y); Dick Francisco, 80, Koyeti (Y); Dinky, 55, Michahai (Y) and Waksachi (WM); Martha Alto, 70, Paleuyami and Yandanchi (both Y); Mollie Garcia, 80, Tachi and Telamni (both Y); Jim Britches, 70, Mollie Lawrence, 70, and Mary Pohot, 55, all Wukchumni (Y); Joe Pohot, 60, Wukchumni (Y) and Patwaha (WM); Sam Garfield, 65, Wukchumni and Yandanchi (both Y); Sam Osborn, 65, Michahai (Y) and Waksachi (WM); George Dick, 40, Entimbich (Y) and Wobonuch (WM); Bob Osborn, 75, Waksachi (WM); Joe Waley, 75, Jane Waley, 65, and Merican Joe, 80, all Wobonuch (WM).

In the following genealogies women are indicated by the biological symbol ♀; marriage by +; tribal affiliations other than that of the lineage appear in parentheses; names recurring in different generations are in italica.

Genealogies Waksachi 1 and Entimbich show the progression of chieftainship and the inheritance of individual names. In Waksachi 1, generations C and D, the chieftainships of Palaha and Claude, respectively, are questioned. On the death of preceding chiefs, Teamuc and Wakit, Palaha was too young to assume the responsibilities of office. Consequently the nearest relative, Heltcap, a cousin (regarded as brother), was chosen. Heltcap upon his death passed the office to his son Claude though it should have reverted to Palaha. Claude claims the office as direct heir of the last chief but is upheld only by his immediate family and intimate friends. Other Indians, whether Waksachi or of neighboring tribes, regard Palaha as chief not only because he is the oldest living member of the true chiefly lineage but because of his highly respected character.

Genealogy Waksachi 2 shows an unusual case of three generations of shamans. Supernatural power was not inherited. This case indicates, perhaps, an inheritance of a disposition suitable for the profession.

Intertribal marriages are notable in all the genealogies.

Chunut

Choinok

WO 'LASH.

Pronouns found are na, ma, mak, nim, min, amin.
 The demonstrative ta appears as ta-n, him, ta-in, hia.
 Who? is wat-uk; where? hiye-uk or hiyoku.
 The imperative usually ends in -k, sometimes in ka or ke.

197*

193

192

CHOINOK.

Demonstratives:

ki, this; ka, that; hiy-uk, where?

Verbs:

zat-ka, ukun-ka, woi-ka, tui-ka.

taut-a-k, teuwo-k.

got-on, strike.

gon-in-hin, fall.

san-san-wi-ëte, tree-squirrel.

TEXTS IN VARIOUS DIALECTS.

539

197*

The following short texts have three sources. Numbers 1 to 27 are all transcriptions of phonographic records of songs obtained from Peter Christman, the principal Yaudanchi informant employed. Many of the songs were said by him to be in Yauelmani, Tachi, and other dialects. How far they may be mixed with Yaudanchi forms, or translated into the latter, is in many cases not certain; so that they can be used as material for a comparative study of dialects only with reservations. Numbers 28 to 35 were obtained from an old man called Chalola, by birth half Wowol, but speaking the Yauelmani dialect. The first five of these, numbers 28 to 32, are songs from a myth, and were recorded without the aid of a phonograph; the last three, numbers 33 to 35, are prayers or ceremonial speeches. All the material from this informant is good Yauelmani. Lastly, numbers 36 to 38, three short ceremonial speeches, are Tachi, obtained from a Tachi informant named Tom. The transcription and translation of the texts resemble those of the Yaudanchi texts. Translations in parentheses are given on the authority of the informant.

[26

115]

[15]

[15]

NOTES ON YOKUTS WEATHER SHAMANISM AND
THE RATTLESNAKE CEREMONY

By FRANCIS A. RIDDELL

121 THE following notes were obtained by the writer on a visit to the Tule Reservation near Porterville, Tulare County, California, on December 20, 1949. The informant from whom the notes were obtained, José Vera, was an 82-year-old man who was half-Mexican and half-Koyeti Yokuts. José was capable of speaking Koyeti, Spanish, and English. The experiences related to me by this man were in part his own, in part those related to him by his Yokuts maternal grandmother. He was emphatic that he could not be a real spokesman for the almost aboriginal culture of his grandmother because that had passed away by the time he was born. Despite his modesty, however, it is evident from talking to him that he had seen enough of the remnant of the old culture to have received and retained some of its flavor. Many of the things he saw, heard, and believed in when he was a boy he found could not be explained to younger Indians of this generation. It bothered him not to be able to make himself believed and understood by these younger people. José was troubled by his inability to equate childhood experiences and teachings, to which he still retained some loyalty, with modern life and thought. It was in this troubled and thoughtful mood that he told about Yokuts weather shamanism and the rattlesnake ceremony.

796 When José was about ten years of age the Koyeti Yokuts
789 held a "fiesta" which was attended by a number of neighboring groups. The performance was held near the town of Porterville, and it was here that José saw a shaman make rain fall out of the sky that had been cloudless a few minutes earlier.

796 The rain was produced by a young Kernville Indian man who
789 became infuriated by the insults and skepticism leveled at him
578 by a drunk old Yokuts (?) man. The old man's insistence that the young man could not make rain caused the young man to become so angry that he had the old drunkard tied to a post. The young weather shaman vowed that he was going to kill the old man for his insults. Lending at least moral support to the young man at this time were his father and his father's father, both of whom were proved weather shamans

791 and had taught this art to the young man.

796 José said that the young man first got a container full of
789 water, the contents of which he violently sprinkled about him.

melodies nor the words. This suggests that most of the later recordings were of songs which were made up or received subsequent to the 1903 recordings. There was a very close correspondence between the 1940 and the 1957 recordings, perhaps largely because Josie Atwell was present at both sessions. 115 533

The problem of how fast music is made up and forgotten in different groups is a complicated one, contingent upon attitudes toward music and other features of culture. There has recently been a development in California Indian music which roughly parallels southeastern United States ballad singing. In both areas singers are becoming self-conscious about the music, and there is a great deal of eclecticism and virtuosity in the performance of the songs. A few Indians, usually doctors, make a deliberate effort to learn "old-time songs" and try to identify with traditional Indian cultures. As to why there was no correspondence between the 1903 recordings and the 1940 recordings, Professor Kroeber has suggested that the songs may have been brought in from outside the Tachi area. Indeed, many are in dialects other than that of Tachi. (177) 182 533

The songs are sung in a relaxed non-pulsating style, preferably with a clapstick accompaniment. Although cocoon rattles are known and have been used in the Yokuts area, they are no longer employed. The feeling is that the latter are supposed to be used by doctors and, since there are no doctors indigenous to the Tachi community, they are not used. The clapsticks are clapped with the syllabic or rhythmic beat of the song, except with one group of songs which required an almost independent accompaniment. The Handgame Song #3, the Tulare Lake Song, and the Deer Songs were included in this group. It should be indicated, however, that the Deer Song represents something very unusual melodically and rhythmically in this area. The formlessness of the melody and the indecisiveness of the rhythm place this song in a separate category. 533 534 [156]

Helen Roberts (1936) mentions that the clapstick accompaniment of the Yokuts was completely independent of the rhythm of the songs. With the exception of the three examples mentioned above this is not now the case in the Tachi area. The accompaniment corresponded closely to the beat or to a subdivision of the beat. Thus, if the beat was $4/4$, the accompaniment might be $4/4$, $2/4$, or $1/4$. The end of a line is marked by a rapid vibration of the clapsticks which gives the effect of a compression. There is, however, no break in the rhythm of the lyrics. (By "line" is meant a complete phrase with as many reiterations as are sung before the transition to a new phrase.) 533

Tulare Lake Song(1)

1. a wa ten may a wa ten may pa'a seo
2. ke way may xo ke wa may xo pa'a seo(2)

The repetition pattern for this song as sung here, is 1,1,1,2,2,1,1,2,2, etc. [539]

NOTES

- (1) Sung by Josie Atwell and Sadie Barrios. See Song #2. [115]
- (2) In the transcriptions of the song texts I have followed Professor Kroeber's orthography whenever possible. The Tachi vowels are quite complicated phonetically and in the songs there appears to be a greater amount of free variation than exists in speech. For instance, a high-front vowel is in free variation with a middle front vowel in one of the songs, while these are phonemically different elsewhere. The English glosses for the songs were obtained from informants whose English was sometimes faulty, and they should therefore not be considered as definitive. 114
126
104
[115]

- e- lower-mid-front unrounded vowel
 ̠ higher-mid-rounded front vowel
 ̡ higher-mid unrounded back vowel

There are, in addition, the high and lower-high front unrounded vowels i and I, and the lower-mid back rounded vowel which is written "aw" and, last, the lower-mid unrounded back vowel which occurs in "cut". Typewritten "?" indicates a glottal stop.

- (3) The song and the story were given by Leon Manuel who is Sapagay's grandson. Sapagay is mentioned in Gayton's ethnography of the Yokuts on page 35. [115]

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[A 11-A]

538 His association with Crow is notable. The animal
 776 characteristics of these persons are occasionally
 825 pointed by their actions, as Buzzard's searching
 of ravines or Bottlefly's sniffing in all direc-
 tions. Falcon's abstention from food, his sat-
 [Text continued top page 11-B.-Analyst]

CULTURAL POSITION

114 Yokuts mythology, which was aptly character-
 171 ized by Kroeber¹⁴ in his pioneer work with Yokuts
 538 tales and texts, sets a norm for the mythology
 773 of the Central California folk-tale area. This
 area, as defined by Gayton,¹⁵ is somewhat smaller
 than the Central California area of tales de-
 termined by Kroeber, which he apparently felt
 coincided with the Central California culture
 area as conceived by him at that time. That Yo-
 kuts should set the norm for the central area is
 in part due to the extensive territory which the
 Yokuts-speaking tribes occupied. Nor is it to
 [197] be forgotten that the peripheries of the area
 are virtually within the bounds of the parental
 Penutian stock common to Maidu, Miwok, and Yokuts.
 Pomo to the northwest, Western Mono to the east,
 and Tubatulabal to the southeast, possess tran-
 sitional phases of the Central Californian myth-
 ology.

171 The mythology deals with events and adven-
 538 tures in the lives of a superhuman as well as
 773 prehuman people who later transformed themselves
 into birds and animals. The concept of such a
 period and people is basic to all western North
 American Indian mythologic and religious be-
 liefs, even when overshadowed by comparatively
 sumptuous theology and ritualism as in the South-
 west. For the Yokuts, it is doubtful that their
 myths were ever ordered in that "system and se-
 quence" which Dixon credited to Maidu mythology.¹⁶
 For us, with our supernormal historical sense,
 it seems bizarre to deal with the tales in any
 other than a pseudochronological order. And I
 am sure any Yokuts, if pushed on the point, would
 feel that the creation tales should come first,
 merely as a matter of logic. The Michahai in-
 formant thought that the acquisition of sun and

773
 538 [136] from the air or the surface of the waters, rear-
 ing its young in the rocks of dangerous mountain
 cliffs, claiming all the atmosphere as its do-
 main, and fearing neither beast that walks nor
 bird that flies, it is the very embodiment of
 "noble rapacity and lonely freedom" (May, Hawks
 of North America, p. 109, quoting G. H. Thayer).

¹⁴Although "character study" is rarely the
 object of native tales, there is a Miwok myth
 (Gifford, NM:323) which seems to have no other
 purpose than the vivid description of a number
 of animals. It is superbly done.

¹⁴Indian Myths of South Central California,
 pp. 192-194, 195-198.

¹⁵Areal Affiliations of California Folktales,
 p. 595.

¹⁶System and Sequence in Maidu Mythology.

[Text continued bottom page 11-B.-Analyst]

[p. 11-B]

538 ing of tobacco for supernatural power, and the
 776 fastidious eating of a little liver by Cougar's
 825 child while Coyote's brats glut themselves, re-
 flect cultural attitudes as well as describing
 characteristic animal action.¹³

[FOOTNOTE¹³ IS ON p. 11-A - ANALYST]

CULTURAL POSITION

- [15] fire followed upon creation; but this man, blind
 538 for decades, was exceptionally reflective. For
 773 all the other stories there is certainly no no-
 tion of a temporal scheme. The "prehistoric"
 era was thought to have ended with the transfor-
 mation of the prehumans to animals, yet there is
 no suggestion that the story of the transforma-
 tion closes a mythologic cycle. On the contrary,
 while the event may be told as a discrete tale,
 it may be appended to any story, as often to that
 of the creation itself as any other, without
 chronologic reference to any of those interven-
 ing events embodied in other tales. As stated
 above, the transformation to animals incident
 really constitutes a literary coda.

171 The creation tale of the Yokuts is brief as
 538 compared with those of surrounding tribes. Its
 773 essence is the earth-diver incident which, while
 it may occur, is not emphasized elsewhere in the
 west. Equally distinctive is the Eagle creator
 who relegates Coyote to a secondary place, yet
 is not the so-called "high god" postulated for
 northern California cultures. Neither do the
 Yokuts believe in a series of creations and de-
 structions of the universe. In the words of a
 Wukchumni, "This is the first and only world--
 there has never been any other." Nor are the
 creation of man and the origin of cultural in-
 stitutions matters of interest; they are touched
 upon briefly, if at all, which contrasts with
 Pomo and Maidu on the north and Luiseño and
 Diegueño to the south. The chief points made
 about mankind are: that he was not permitted to
 be immortal, his hands were patterned on Lizard's,
 and he was given, by tribal designation, a par-
 ticular spot on earth, a "native heath." So much
 for man and his ways.

171 The Death Controversy tale is told by the
 538 Yokuts; the Western Mono add the sequel making
 the originator of death the first sufferer.

The Theft of the Sun (Light), known in the north-
 ern section of California, was related in full
 by only one, the Michahai-Waksachi informant.
 The Theft of Fire fares better, being known to
 all. But again, rather than following the relay
theft formula of northern Californian and Basin
 variants, a single thief, usually Jack Rabbit,
 turns the trick. Eagle arranged for deer to be
 hunted, but by raising an evil smell Coyote
 frightened them away, just as he did in Great
 Basin stories of the Scattering of Deer.

The more novelistic tales which recount ad-
 ventures of the animal people focus their interest

[Text continued on page 14-A - Analyst]